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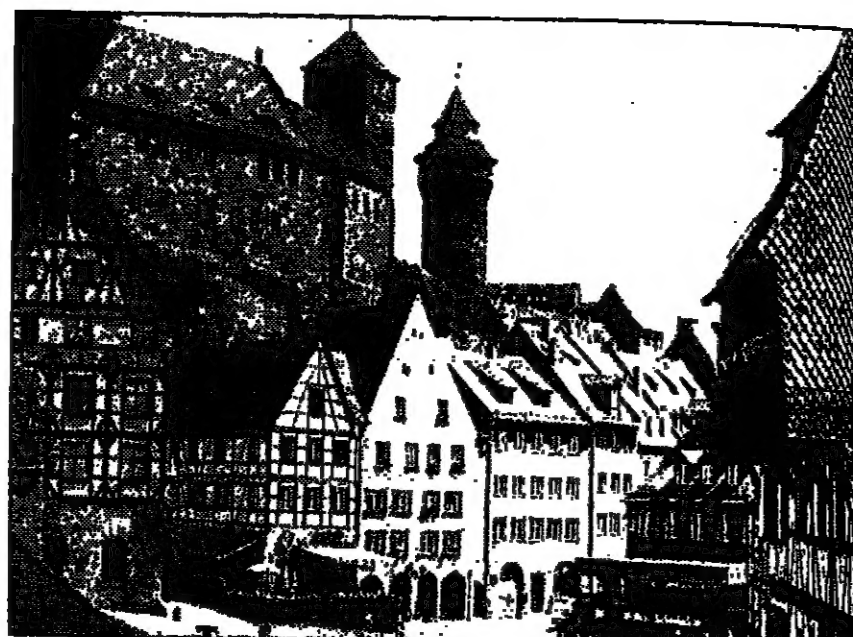
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The Castle Route



The German Tribune

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Third bid to clear up EEC money mess

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

The EEC summit at Fontainebleau, near Paris, was a third attempt to do something about the Common Market's financial mess. Meetings in Athens and Brussels were not able to.

But the threat of bankruptcy has not thought EEC work to a standstill. Compromises have been made on individual issues raised at the summit subject only to the EEC budget being increased.

They include the membership applications by Spain and Portugal, a tentative reform of common agricultural policy and important tasks facing the EEC such as improvements in regional structure, measures to combat unemployment and economic stagnation, and investment in programmes for the future.

The main obstacle to progress in Fontainebleau continues to be the problem of Britain's contribution refund, which is ac-

where other had plans for a cathedral — and it looked like the shed-builders were about to tip the balance in their favour.

Where national advantages are pressed home without the slightest readiness to compromise or reach understanding, one is bound to suspect some members of joining the Common Market solely to place a damper on a European impetus they felt unable to resist in any other way.

Bad examples can be disastrous, as shown by Bonn, long the blue-eyed boy of Europe, suddenly deciding on national farm subsidies in breach of EEC regulations and heedless of criticism at Fontainebleau.

This decision by Bonn to go it alone, which runs counter to Germany's stated intention of reducing subsidies, could well have proved an expensive departure at the summit. Or was Helmut Kohl resolved to give the EEC a powerful shot in the arm to pacify his Common Market partners and end the impasse for the time being?

Bonn's own departure from principle has certainly weakened the German viewpoint, outlined as part of the Stuttgart package, that financial pressure must be exerted to reform EEC arrangements that have gone haywire, es-



A welcome at the summit. Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans (extreme left) greeted at Fontainebleau by President Mitterrand, who is flanked by Bonn Chancellor Kohl (left) and Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. (Photo: dpa)

pecially in the agricultural sector. There can be little doubt that Bonn will be called on to foot the bill, and there is growing criticism in the West German media of the burden Germany bears as the largest net contributor to the EEC.

Given the way in which money seems to be wasted in Brussels, critics are beginning to doubt whether the European Community is worth what it costs the Federal Republic.

Dissatisfaction with an EEC that seems to see as its sole purpose bargain-ing over advantages and interests and

stockpiling unsaleable foodstuffs at enormous expense is readily understandable.

But the baby must not be let out with the bathwater, and the benefit Germany derives from EEC membership cannot be assessed solely in terms of net contributions toward the European Community budget in Brussels.

West German industrial exports to neighbouring European countries are part of the bargain, and the European

Continued on page 2

Leaders take Euro-poll wounds to Fontainebleau summit

The Euro-election was a setback for almost all heads of state at the EEC summit at Fontainebleau, near Paris.

Almost all of them have come through at least slightly mauled. The five major national leaders were certainly hit in some way.

Francois Mitterrand came off worst of all. His Socialist Party only received twenty per cent of the vote. Fifty-five per cent of the electorate voted against his government.

Margaret Thatcher did not do much better. Her Conservatives lost almost a third of their European Parliament seats. The Labour Party returned to the political scene with a glittering victory.

Bettino Craxi, the Socialist leader in Italy, must fear for the position of his government after the Communists' success. In contrast Helmut Kohl has come through without too much harm.

Despite a noticeable loss of votes and the setback of a coalition partner the Chancellor had a handsome result for his party, but like Francois Mitterrand and Margaret Thatcher the Chancellor

did not come through the election a beaming victor.

Only those who are critical of the European Community and its institutions can talk of success. This criticism will certainly be stronger now that the Danish anti-Europeans have increased their seats in Strasbourg. In Copenhagen EEC advocates are now reluctant to talk of an enlargement of the Community.

The win of the British Labour Party will present additional problems. The Labour members will query the existence of a united Europe strongly in London and Strasbourg.

What is of considerable weight is the fact that in West Germany and France, (both are hammering out new plans for the reconstruction of the European Community) anti-Europeans were the only ones to have an increase in votes.

Without tossing the right extremists in France and the Greens in West Germany into the same pot, the successes both these groups had is a sign of how deep is the discomfort felt by voters

about the institutions of the European Community.

Governments must take this feeling into consideration in their European strategy, which will make the work of the Brussels politicians all that more difficult.

At a time when EEC conflicts can only be solved by compromises, if at all, the side-long glance to national interests can only sharpen the crisis.

The chances of the Fontainebleau summit being able to resolve the financial strife with the Lady from London is made all that more difficult by the election result in London and on the Continent.

But what has hit the 434 MEPs most acutely is the proportion of electors who actually voted. When forty per cent of those with the vote failed to do so it is obvious that there is not only a lack of political interest, but a clear protest against the ways and means politics are conducted in Brussels and Strasbourg.

After five years the MEPs have been given the bill: they are no more than a democratic fig-leaf for a Community of bureaucratic and nationalist thinking egotists.

The MEPs have also had to take the can for the misdeeds of government heads, the Council of Ministers and the EEC Commission, and that is unjust.

Uwe Vorkötter

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 21 June 1984)

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acknowledged by all concerned to be a fair claim, if not in the full amount demanded by Mrs Thatcher.

Yet the difference between what Whitehall demands and the other EEC countries' "final offer" is so slight that it cannot possibly be the true reason for the failure to make headway on European integration.

It is more of a dogged dispute on the character and future of the European Community, and thus, in the final analysis, on Europe's identity and conception of itself.

The president of the European Commission, Gaston Thorn, chose an apt simile by which to convey his impression of the failure of the EEC summits in Athens and Brussels.

Some Common Market countries wanted only to build a shed, he said,

Euro-election threw up warning signs, but it wasn't all bad news

The European Community and its institutions have had a narrow escape.

No matter how much the political parties have been disappointed at the poor voter turnout for the Strasbourg Parliament elections in comparison with 1979, the truth is that every second European citizen valued the election enough to cast a vote.

In view of the long chain of European misfortunes over the past few months that is not bad.

Neither the floundered summit conferences in Athens in December 1983 and Brussels in March this year, nor anger over transport delays at frontier crossing points, or agricultural surpluses or British demands for a refund have caused a major abstention. Europe as a real political power is still not in question.

The warning signs are obvious. However these signs seem to be unjust when the Parliament's performance over the past five years is taken into consideration. But they are not illogical.

When voter displeasure cannot directly strike at a European government the 434 MEPs in Strasbourg are easy game.

Apart from the crippling effects that have been imposed by the Council of Ministers they owe the limitations to their powers to their national governments. All of them together are now getting a reckoning. The election was not a slap in the face for Strasbourg but against a system that has its origins in the capitals of Europe.

The hopes that lessons will be learned are limited. The outlook for the next European summit meeting at Fontainebleau, near Paris, is gloomy. An extension of the Strasbourg Parliament's authority, that could possibly save the summit, is out of the question.

After five years' experience the MEPs themselves have proposed a few modest measures, for it is to be taken for granted that at the next election fewer people will vote.

The protest against this situation has reached Strasbourg. The anti-Europe front, made up in the previous parliament of a few crotchety Labour-Socialists has become stronger.

They sit together as right extremists (from France and Italy), the Greens (from West Germany and the Netherlands), and the popular movement against the European Community in Denmark, that captured a third of the Danish seats in the Strasbourg Parliament. It is uncertain if they will form a coalition of outsiders.

Seen overall the right-wing (Christian Democrats, Conservatives and Liberals) maintained its majority. The socialist upswing was to be expected, stemming from the adjustment to conditions in Britain. The gains made by the Communists in Italy were compensated for by their comrades' losses in France. No essential shift then.

Things look differently from a national point of view, however. The results must be seen as an interim national election throughout Europe. The ruling parties suffered considerably, no matter whether from the right or the left.

With the exception of the SPD the various opposition parties in Europe were given a leg up. Here again it did

Christ und Welt Abendlicher Merkur

not matter what complexion the opposition party was.

The results in France, and perhaps in Italy and the Federal Republic could produce consequences that could affect the European Community as a whole.

The spectacular collapse of the Communists and the dramatic decline of the Socialists, coalition partners under President Francois Mitterrand, has shaken what was a fragile construction anyway. Defeat and defeat alone has united them, and both would like to escape from the ruins at the expense of the other.

The simultaneous advance of the extreme right-wing National Front under Jean Marie Le Pen is not only another symptom of illness, but a clear indication that there is no majority for a right-wing/liberal alternative government in France.

The only comfort lies in the fact that the extreme right's election success did not grow out of earth fertilized with ideology but was simply an attitude of protest.

Experience has shown that a France that is domestically crippled would be an extraordinarily difficult partner. Until now Francois Mitterrand has governed above this internal mood. He has done so for reasons of state. The question is if, and for how long, he can continue to do so.

In Italy a new slogan is making the rounds. Instead of the "historic compromise", between Christian Democrats and Communists, people are now talk-

ing of "sorpasso", overtaking, meaning that the Communists will overtake the Christian Democrats. This slogan was in use before the death of Enrico Berlinguer, but a sense of sympathy for him may have helped. But in the long-run it would seem that the steam has gone out of *Democrazia Cristiana*.

It is typical of the situation that the Republicans led by Giovanni Spadolini and the Socialists headed by Bettino Craxi provide the leader of the coalition of five and not the Christian Democrats.

The thought cannot be dismissed that in the not too distant future Italy will have a Communist prime minister. Although the Italian Communist Party has been held back from the exercise of power in Rome, the party is a firm component of the political system.

Under Christian Democrat Giulio Andreotti the Communists became a surreptitious partner. The Communists are now upping their demands. The party's disadvantage now is that there is no one available that the party can drag along to lead in this favourable situation. The Communist Party's image is still a deterrent for a majority of voters.

What at first glance seemed to be a democratic drawback when only thirty per cent of the British electorate bothered to vote, can be regarded as a virtue when looked at a second time. The Britons, ever pragmatic, realised that there was nothing much to be had from this election.

It would seem that they have come to the conclusion that all is not well with the EEC. This British hesitation should be noted.

British voters have redressed the balance. The Conservatives under Margaret Thatcher have suffered a reverse that has hit them hard. The defeat in the

Portsmouth South by-election emphasised this. The Labour Party was turned to its habitual second place. The Labour Party has increased its representation in Strasbourg.

The "Alliance", a party made up of Social Democrats and Liberals, was a victim of the British electoral system first past the post. But in Britain the Alliance will continue to play an important role. With a base of twenty per cent of electors the Alliance is not likely to disappear in the immediate future.

In the smaller European states uprisings were less dramatic. They do not carry much weight in the EEC as a whole. Neither Christian Democratic, nor Belgian and the Netherlands, nor the Irish government party and the peasant party drop for Pasok in Greece, have had so much effect as to endanger the government.

In part losses were made good by gains with coalition partners. Luxembourg, conservative Luxembourg, drew attention to itself by gains for the Socialists. In Denmark not only did the anti-EEC party win but also the right-conservatives.

The European picture is mottled and contradictory. This will be apparent in the way the parties function in the European Parliament.

The MEPs know only too well: the Socialists are not all similar Socialists. Conservatives and Christian Democrats are two different terms and will remain apart. The Liberals will have to get along without their West German chairman Martin Bangemann. Most for European unity will come from the Communists among whom is the Italian Altiero Spinelli.

One thing is obvious: the limitations of national political understanding. The limitation is the enemy of a real advance for the European Community. The MEPs, already made scapegoats for the errors of the Council of Ministers and the Commission, cannot be blamed for these limitations.

Gerhard von Glinits
(Rheinische Merkur/Christ und Welt, 22 June 1984)

Summit meeting

Understanding and the state of peace. They cost millions of dead and world power status now enjoyed by others.

Were it not for the nuclear shield provided by the United States, Europe would not even be in a position to carry on with integration unless, that is, it was prepared to pay the further price of subjugation to the Soviet Union.

So the second leg of European integration is an urgent enough task: that of combining a potential for European self-assertion sufficient to rank alongside any world power provided only that it is endorsed by a common political will.

European political union must be embarked on by governments that have realised the need for it. The EEC could not have been set up in 1957 if the Six had not been determined to go ahead. Nothing could have been achieved by waiting for countries that were not yet prepared to take the step.

Current members include countries that viewed the founding and initial progress of the European Community with scepticism and were opposed to the whole idea.

President Mitterrand of France has

clearly realised the need for action as given European integration a fresh impetus with his proposal for a conference of EEC countries interested in political union.

The European Parliament's draft treaty for a European Union might serve as a basis for discussion.

The European Parliament, in its present form itself more a draft than a reality, is typical of the imperfection of what is so far united about Europe.

There can only be extensions or developments. Stands still would be tantamount to collapse. The European "shed" may not be here to stay, but the European "cathedral" will be.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 24 June 1984)

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Coalition feels the ground give a little shake

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

The shadow of impermanence has been thrown across the Bonn coalition of Christian and Free Democrats. Some CDU/CSU politicians are talking openly of a realignment.

It is a change that has come sooner than anyone imagined. A little over a year ago, after the general election in March 1983, the coalition looked rock solid.

Now people are wondering what would happen if the FDP, whose performance at the polls is going from bad to worse, vanished into political oblivion.

Once again there are stage whispers in Bonn that the Federal Republic is threatening to become ungovernable. That is patent nonsense.

The British, who have much longer experience of democratic and parliamentary government, take a level-headed, businesslike view of such situations.

Government, they say, must go on. Which is exactly what it does. There are several directions in which events in Bonn might develop.

First, the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition could stay in power for the full term, until 1987.

Second, if it were to break up because the Free Democrats felt obliged to emphasise the political differences between them and the CDU/CSU, the Christian Democrats could stay in office as a minority government until 1987.

They need have no fears of a constructive vote of no-confidence in Chancellor Kohl, a vote that would automatically usher in another government and another coalition, that being the only way a government can be ousted in mid-term.

Third, there could also be a Grand Coalition of Christian and Social Democrats, although that is unlikely at present, especially under Chancellor Kohl.

In all three instances the Bonn government would be a weak one, but that is arguably inevitable in a country that lacks a two-party system and is unlikely to have one in the foreseeable future.

Coalitions call for compromises, and that would particularly apply to a Grand Coalition such as the one that held power in Bonn in the late-1960s.

It may be irksome to keep on having to arrive at compromises, but government must go on. Besides, strong governments can prove even more irksome for the governed.

That was a point the French learnt to their cost under General de Gaulle and one the British have learnt, arguably to a lesser extent, under Mrs. Thatcher.

When a government is formed along lines different from what some have been expecting, those who are disappointed tend to talk in terms of a falsification of the electoral mandate.

That was what Christian Democrats said in 1969, when the Free Democrats sided with Willy Brandt and the Social Democrats on the strength of a water-

But they were taught their lesson in the 1972 general election, from which the SPD-FDP coalition emerged with a larger majority. The electoral mandate could hardly be disputed.

Parliamentary majorities are decided by the voters, directly in cases where there is a straight choice between two parties.

But if three or more parties are elected and have failed to state irrevocably beforehand where they stand on coalitions, it is up to them to bring about a majority capable of governing.

The greater the number of parties, the more uncertain the outcome of coalition talks. The only point on which the position is clear is that government must go on.

There has been no such thing as a clear majority in Hesse for two years. Yet when Hesse's Social Democratic Prime Minister Holger Börner joins forces with the Greens, some people make him out to be doing something indecent.

There is renewed talk of falsification of the electoral mandate — as though voters who backed the Greens did so with the express intention of electing MPs who would have nothing to do with the government.

Herr Börner is undeniably not doing today what he said he would a year ago. But can any politician say he has never changed his mind? Besides, government must go on.

The only alternative to the arrangement Hesse's Social Democrats have

The Free Democrats are in an even more critical position now than they were at the end of 1982 when they switched allegiance from the Social Democrats to the Christian Democrats in Bonn, says the party's former general secretary.

Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer was FDP general secretary until the Münster party conference at the beginning of June. She reached this alarming conclusion just before the conference.

The FDP, down to 72,000 members, is indeed in an alarming position, and it hasn't just been since its failure to poll five per cent and ensure re-election to the European Parliament in mid-June.

The Free Democrats are now represented in only five of the Federal Republic of Germany's 11 state assemblies.

Last September they polled 7.6 per cent in Hesse under new state leader Wolfgang Gerhardt to return to the state assembly with CDU backing and the same percentage support as in the March 1983 general election.

But in March 1984 they slumped to 7.2 per cent in Baden-Württemberg, traditionally an FDP stronghold, due in part to a mistaken strategy, as state leader Jürgen Morlok was told at FDP headquarters in Bonn.

In Baden-Württemberg they were beaten into fourth place by the Greens, just as they were in mid-June in the elections to the European Parliament.

For the time being there are no signs of an end to the trend. As computer forecasts showed the FDP might just scrape in (in the end they didn't, polling only 4.8 per cent), officials at party

reached with the Greens is a Grand Coalition, and who would venture to suggest that was what voters had voted for?

No-one who wants to see parliamentary democracy work can possibly support the idea of an imperative mandate and of MPs being subject to recall for failing to vote in accordance with their campaign pledges.

But that means there will always be a risk of elected MPs complying with Article 38 of Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, and voting solely in accordance with their consciences.

Constitutionally, they aren't bound by mandates or instructions, although all too few are guided solely by the dictates of their conscience.

If majorities are not to be left to MPs and to party discipline, then voters must ensure that one party has an absolute majority. That has only happened once in the Federal Republic, in 1957, and whether it is in the public interest is another matter.

Criticism of the Greens in terms of their parliamentary work is indispensable. Treating them as political pariahs with whom a decent democrat will have nothing to do is another matter entirely.

They were democratically elected, and this treatment will not do. Government must go on, in coalition harness with the Greens if need be.

If that doesn't work, then the coalition must be scrapped and voters given an opportunity of electing a different majority into parliament.

If Herr Börner were to have to do that in Wiesbaden it might be the end of his political career, but it wouldn't be the end of Hesse. Government would have to go on: it always must.

People in the Federal Republic of Germany have been spoilt by an unusual degree of political stability since



Will they always be together? ... Chancellor Kohl (right) with FDP leader Genscher. (Photo: Poly-Press)

1949 — due in part to there having been clear political slogans for decades.

Those days are over, as are the days of stable parliamentary majorities.

With so much uncertainty in the political, economic, social and even moral context, how can any group claim to be in sole possession of truth sufficient to lay the groundwork for long and stable government?

Where anything of the kind still exists, it is merely an expression of conscious or unconscious perplexity.

Unstable, unruly times lie ahead. But government must go on, and it is still for voters to ensure there are majorities to make sure that it does.

Tillacus
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 21 June 1984)

FDP in a jam — and it's getting tighter

headquarters looked forward anxiously to the state assembly elections in North Rhine-Westphalia next year.

State leader Jürgen Möllemann may say the FDP can rely on 4.5 per cent regular voters in North Rhine-Westphalia and forecast they will poll about seven per cent, but there was one point he could not explain away.

It was that in the elections to the European Parliament the FDP's showing in North Rhine-Westphalia was well below the national average.

The Free Democrats, their new general secretary Helmut Haussmann made it clear at the Münster conference, will need to work hard to boost their image and to make themselves clearer and more distinct from other parties.

They must, he said, redouble their efforts to enlist the support of young voters and women. They must also present a clearer picture, with greater emphasis on party unity.

The FDP have great difficulty in conveying this impression. In spite of protestations to the contrary, problems arising from the switch in allegiance in September 1982 have still not been settled.

Many voters still resent the way in which the change took place, largely engineered as it was by FDP leader and

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff.

Herr Genscher has caused an added upset by announcing that he plans to retire as party leader by 1986 at the latest. There are no signs so far of a convincing successor no matter how much he may sing the praises of younger FDP leaders.

The first signs of jostling for power were apparent in Münster. Candidates for the succession include Martin Bangemann, Wolfgang Gerhardt and Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer. This tug-of-war is sure to gain momentum.

The Free Democrats are also in the news, and it is bad news, in connection with the legal proceedings against Count Lambsdorff in connection with industrial donations to party funds.

The rank and file may have scuppered Bonn coalition plans for amnesty legislation to cover party-political donations, but the FDP has failed to derive benefit at the polls.

Voters have also been confused by continued discussion about who might succeed Count Lambsdorff if he is impeached and Justice Minister Engelhard, who is felt to be colourless.

Leading politicians have realised for some time that a swift solution to these manpower problems is essential, but more is needed.

If the FDP is to recover from the dollops it is currently in, it must draw up party-political programmes for the future.

Yet the Münster conference devoted a mere 15 minutes to education and arts policy.

Stefan Heydeck
(Die Welt, 19 June 1984)

■ SECURITY

Discredited agency to get its wings clipped

Defence Minister Manfred Wörner could hardly have given a more convincing explanation of the need for a reform of the MAD, the Cologne-based counter-espionage agency run by the Bundeswehr.

"I have had more than my fill of mistakes by the MAD," he said, ruefully recalling that men who are still at their MAD desks had fabricated evidence against General Kiesling last year.

Their reports, incredibly concocted, left Herr Wörner, who had been a star performer in Chancellor Kohl's Cabinet, a Minister subject to recall.

If Herr Wörner had been able to follow his personal inclinations he would probably have dissolved the MAD entirely. Discredited, it will instead be renamed, reduced in size and tightened up all round.

He has so little confidence in the agency that he agreed to the demand by the parliamentary commission set up to look into the Kiesling Affair for a review of all cases in which the MAD screened Bundeswehr personnel in the second half of last year and refused to clear them for work with classified information.

Herr Wörner can't afford to risk another scandal. Whatever he does now must be done with the emphasis on safety, which is why he has instructed his legal experts to draft legislation covering the agency's anti-espionage activities.

That is a move long called for by Karl Müllner, for instance, a Christian Democrat who specialises in legal and intelligence affairs.

This legislation is both long overdue and difficult. Of the three West German intelligence agencies only the *Verfassungsschutz*, also based in Cologne, works on the basis of clear legal do's and don'ts.

There are none for the *Bundesnachrichtendienst*, based in the Munich suburb of Pullach and responsible for intelligence work abroad, or for the MAD.

Joachim Rottmann, a former Constitutional Court judge and member of the Höcherl Commission (which looked into the MAD), voiced parliamentary dissatisfaction with this state of affairs at a recent session of the Bundestag defence committee.

Parliament, he said, could no longer look on idly while the MAD continued operating without the slightest legal foundation. "That," he said, "is an almost totally illegal situation."

The coalition parties and the Opposition SPD are basically agreed on this point, Social Democrat Gerhard Jahn, a former Justice Minister and member of the Höcherl Commission, says he can see no way of legalising the MAD's activities.

There is nothing similar in comparable Western countries, but that doesn't mean there is nothing to go on. There are, for instance, the legislative provisions for the work of the *Verfassungsschutz*.

The *Verfassungsschutz* does work similar to the MAD's except that it is not responsible for the armed forces. It deals with counter-espionage and terrorism.

So its provisions could arguably be applied to the MAD. But the *Bundes-*

nachrichtendienst is another matter. Its work could hardly be subjected to strict and detailed legal constraints without largely paralysing it.

That isn't to say there is no possibility of individual regulations. Clear instructions (or bans) could certainly be issued for the exchange of information between departments.

There are definite plans to standardise the intelligence services and make it easier for officers to switch from one to the other. Bundeswehr officers have long worked for the BND. One, General Wessel, even headed the *Bundesnachrichtendienst*.

The aim now is to make transfers in the opposite direction possible. Herr Wörner has issued instructions that in future a non-serving expert may be appointed deputy head of the MAD.

But a general overhaul of the agency will take time, and that is a commodity of which Herr Wörner has very little. If he is to stabilise his position to any degree he will need to notch up political successes soon.

Yet he isn't a magician and can't pull new, good men for the MAD out of a hat. They must first be found and given a first-rate training.

Who would want to be transferred to the MAD as matters stand? The Minister's new state secretary, Günter Ermisch, may be right in saying that MAD officers must not regard their job as a blemish in their careers. But they do.

What is more, whether the MAD works (and by that the Minister will stand or fall) will depend to a large extent on how successful Herr Wörner is in finding a new man to head the agency.

The new men must not just be individually brilliant, to quote Herr Ermisch; they must also get on well together.

The new command and control structure planned by the Minister runs a number of serious risks on this point. The Wörner plan envisages operations at three concurrent levels.

Increasing the length of conscription and using women in non-combat jobs are two of the proposals being considered to maintain Bundeswehr manpower.

Unless something is done, military planners say manpower will be down to under 300,000 by 1998.

In peacetime the armed forces' strength must not fall below 450,000, Defence Ministry officials say. This level cannot be maintained without drastic changes given population trends.

Measures under consideration (a review has already been completed) are:

- lengthening the basic period conscripts spend in the armed forces;
- revising the criteria used in fitness tests;

- reducing manpower requirements in other sectors, such as civil defence and the police;

- increasing the number of professional servicemen;

- and throwing the armed forces open to women volunteers.

Once these and other plans are carried out, long-term Bundeswehr manpower ought to be maintained at about



Defence Minister Wörner (right) and new state secretary Ermisch... task ahead.

MAD activities will be controlled and supervised by the state secretary at the Defence Ministry, whereas service matters and discipline will be managed by the deputy inspector-general of the Bundeswehr. Legal provisions are said to allow of no other possibility.

Third, Herr Wörner would like to appoint a special commissioner for the intelligence services at the Defence Ministry as a final court of appeal, as it were, if someone is refused security clearance.

These three chains of command inevitably represent a risk of duplication or clashes unless all concerned show an unprecedented willingness to cooperate.

So far the Minister seems only to have found his man to head the new look MAD, General Hubertus Senff, at present in the organisation department of the general staff.

He was recently promoted to brigadier and will take over at MAD with the rank of major-general.

How difficult it is to set matters right in such an inflexible organisation as the Bundeswehr can be seen from the position of one of the men mainly responsible for mud-slinging at General Kiesling, a former deputy head of department at the MAD by the name of Waldmann.

He is now at the northern territorial command of the Bundeswehr in Mönchengladbach and hopes to be promoted to head of department.

Plan to avert a shortage of soldiers

430,000. The remaining 20,000 whose existence is felt to be essential could arguably be ensured by signing men on for longer periods.

Nato planning provides for a minimum peacetime manpower of 495,000 in the Bundeswehr, rising to 1.2 million men under arms in war.

If Germany is unable to reach this manpower target, military planners say inroads into defence structures will be inevitable.

The Bundeswehr's problems have been heightened by the discovery of serious shortcomings in the equipment sector.

The forward defence strategy, aimed at ending fighting as soon as possible and limiting damage in the event of at-

tack, requires the Bundeswehr to undertake strenuous efforts in arms stockpiling and weapons planning. Financial "bottlenecks" seem sure to prove inoperable.

Zero growth, say Ministry officials, cannot be maintained in the defence estimates if effective defence is to be maintained in view of the growing threat from the East.

The emphasis in future weapons technology will, it is said, definitely be on defence systems, whereas there will be a new fighter aircraft.

The Bundeswehr is worried by the Federal government's reluctance to finance the Nato infrastructure budget.

If the Federal Republic expects US divisions to be flown over in the event of an attack, Bonn must be prepared to pay its share of the cost of urgently needed facilities for US forces.

Defence Minister Wörner will discuss the Bundeswehr's 1986 planning report with Chancellor Kohl at the end of August. It will then be referred to the Bundestag.

Karl Hugo Probst
(Nordwest Zeitung, 13 June 1984)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Moscow and its vassal states: old men dictating blinkered policies

Communist officials in Eastern Europe tend to be short-tempered when their countries are referred to in the West as satellites.

That, they say, is an insult. The countries of Eastern Europe are independent and sovereign. The Brezhnev Doctrine is a figment of Western propaganda's imagination.

Yet most of them almost automatically followed the Soviet example in deciding to boycott the Los Angeles Olympics, which was a matter of sport, not of design or economic policy solidarity.

A number of Eastern European regimes have found their domestic press badly hit by this decision. Yet they obediently obeyed the call to boycott Los Angeles.

They include Hungary, which is said to be keen to continue the "dialogue" with the West, and Cuba, whose leader said in President Carter's memoirs that he told US emissaries early in 1980 he was tired of Soviet domination.

Romania alone seems not to have reached a definite decision. Bucharest lay to join the boycott but is saying nothing officially for the time being and has not definitely announced that it will be taking part either.

Moscow's allies have had to adopt this attitude because the Soviet leaders recently attach extraordinary importance to the Olympic boycott.

In one respect Herr Wörner is right. The reforms now under way are the best since the MAD was set up over 25 years ago. For the Minister the risk is roughly fifty-fifty.

In its present condition the MAD is simply not effective. The men at the top are discredited, the rank and file are frustrated.

But there is always the risk of another blunder while the reforms are being carried out, and it could cost Herr Wörner his job, as he is well aware.

"You may rest assured," he said a few days ago, "that we are extremely watchful."

Continued on page 6

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Its aim is to shock Western public opinion, and Moscow is already indicating there may be difficulties at the next summer Olympics in Seoul.

There is more to all this than meets the eye. The Soviet leaders seem to be anxious to reduce contacts with the West to a minimum.

The US Presidential elections can play no more than a superficial part. As long as the present political current prevails in the United States and part of Western Europe the Soviet leaders would have to enter into a dialogue and negotiations with the West on Western terms and not on their own.

In the current Soviet leadership, unimaginative old men intent only on wielding power, there is no room for subtle and farsighted strategies. Birds in the hand are what count, not the ones that sit around in the bush.

Disarmament issues or strategies for Latin America or Africa are alien to this outlook, which is more than can be said for confrontation bids nearer home, say in the Middle East. Afghanistan may be no more than a foretaste.

This policy line in the Kremlin inevitably runs counter to the interests of

most East European countries, excepting only Czechoslovakia, or so it would seem.

Hungary and the GDR have so far voiced this contradiction in the strongest terms. Hungary seems to be adamant in its criticism. Whether the GDR will be remains to be seen.

Their readiness for dialogue can clearly be no more than limited, so it is all the more striking that it has already met with Moscow's displeasure.

Prague, or at least some Czech leaders, are prepared to be Moscow's mouthpiece, and paradoxically enough, the Czechs are constantly complaining that the West pursues a policy of "differentiation" in the East.

It is surely no coincidence that the Czech media lashed out at Austria's policy of neutrality at a time when the Hungarian Foreign Minister happened to be visiting Vienna.

Most Eastern European countries would like to be on good terms with the West for economic reasons even if, like Bulgaria, their economic and financial links with the West are strictly limited.

These are clearly issues in which they are keenly interested, which possibly accounts for the Eastern Europeans' attitude on the Olympics. They saw little point in upsetting the Soviet leaders, who are easily upset, on an issue that is mainly a matter of appearances.

Western observers are nonetheless bound to reach conclusions on both the character of the current Kremlin leaders and conditions in general in the East Bloc.

East Bloc leaders met in Moscow in mid-June for the first Comecon summit since the change at the top in the Kremlin.

The Russians with their energy and commodities potential naturally had more leverage. They don't need to make the slightest concessions to their allies in return for good behaviour.

Moscow's allies had already been told they could not expect to be supplied with more Soviet oil, and maybe not even as much as at present, and Rumania too will need to reconsider its position.

The future alongside the Soviet Union does not look any too bright at present for the smaller states in Eastern Europe.

Viktor Meier

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 June 1984)

Continued from page 4

ful at the top here in the Defence Ministry."

If this vigilance is to be maintained the Minister will need to change his style of working. Even well-disposed associates complain that he wastes too much time on minor details instead of concentrating on the really important issues at the Defence Ministry.

He is evidently not good enough at delegating responsibility even though he likes to pose as a keen supporter of the idea. So he will have to live with the MAD time-bomb, knowing full well what the consequences of failure will be.

Gisbert Kuhn

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 22 June 1984)

Soviets fail in bid to reform Comecon

Two communist political-economic views collided at the Comecon summit conference in Moscow.

On one hand there was the camp, headed by the Russians, that demands more centralisation, deeper economic integration, decreased trade with the West, less dependence on capitalist markets and more national economic self-sufficiency.

The Czechs also pushed this line, an example of ideology overriding political and economic interests.

Because of its geography and economic traditions, Czechoslovakia had to be a major opponent of any self-imposed Comecon isolation from the Soviet Union.

On the other hand there was the view held by East Germany, Hungary and Rumania — an odd alliance of dissimilar

countries that has developed because they want to maintain trade with the West and the outside world at large.

Poland cannot be taken seriously to be part of this alliance because of the calamitous economic policies of Jaruzelski.

Although Bulgaria is politically faithful to the Soviet Union, it is certainly not enthusiastic about the Kremlin's plans for economic self-sufficiency in view of Bulgaria's agricultural and industrial exports to the West.

The nucleus of the anti-centralists is made up of East Berlin, Budapest and Bucharest. The three have differing motives.

Economic ties with the West are important for the Hungarians because these ties are an important component of Budapest's great economic reform. This aims at liberalising economic life, allowing firms independence and promoting private initiative.

For the East Berlin regime trade with West Germany is a golden cornucopia, that makes unnecessary reform of the economic or political system.

In addition admittance to Western markets is for Bucharest a vehicle for the Hungarians' own brand of national communist foreign affairs.

There are little signs of a will for reform in Rumania, either.

What is of vital importance for all three partners is that the doors to the West should not be slammed to. And it is just possible that the Comecon "autonomists" have succeeded in introducing their standpoint into the Moscow communiqué.

Both positions are in the document next to each other, unsynchronised and unreconcilable.

This means, however, that the Soviet Union has not been able to make a major coup and reform Comecon. Comecon remains what it was: a combination, in which Soviet Russia could exercise preponderant influence, but where in fact supra-national authority does not exist.

The Hungarians demonstrated their determination to continue with their re-

Continued on page 7

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Karl Hugo Probst
(Nordwest Zeitung, 13 June 1984)

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■ PEOPLE

The union leader with a quiet, persuasive style

Monika Wulf-Mathies' first two years at the helm of ÖTV, the public and transport workers' union, was the issue at the union's congress in Munich.

Many who voted for her to succeed Siegfried Morten — a man of the old guard, a pal, in short a typical trades union leader.

Monika Wulf-Mathies represented change if only because of her past and stature, in contrast to her opponent Siegfried Morten — a man of the old guard, a pal, in short a typical trades union leader.

The 42-year-old Monika Wulf-Mathies, on the other hand, a German studies graduate, represents the post-war generation. She has not been through the nitty-gritty of trade unionism and she has not had to work her way up the ladder.

Peeved by the grand old men of the union, the delegates presented her with a narrow majority two years ago.

Heinz Kluncker was the undisputed master of the employees. This aroused considerable displeasure among the membership in his last years in office. He ruled with an iron hand and when Kluncker, a powerfully built man, thought it necessary he silenced his critics with a few words. Because of his considerable experience, she cannot imitate her predecessor. Nevertheless she has earned respect.

All recognise her industry and readiness for action; many acknowledge with some pride that the chairwoman created a quite different picture when repre-

sented the interests of disgraced government, state government and local government employees.

Bluster, words of command and inconsiderateness in pushing things through — that is not her style. She discusses matters, tries to convince, motivates people. She does this in a quiet but persistent way.

She pushed through her partnership-style of leadership despite opposition within the organisation.

More democracy, that officials and members wanted during the authoritarian rule of her predecessor, brings with it problems. Those who bitterly complained before that they were never able to participate in discussions now find themselves having to assume responsibility.

They found out how much easier it was to negotiate an unpopular decision with a strong man at the top than to have to share the decision-making process.

Monika Wulf-Mathies' first wage negotiations last year showed this up clearly. She sustained her first defeat when the majority in the wage negotiations commission rejected the arbitration decision.

True she was able to rally her colleagues behind her in the second round, but some still bear a grudge.

Grass roots frustration over a meagre pay increase and a modification of additional benefits for pensioners hailed down.

Things will get worse this year for the outlook for favourable wage negoti-



Monika Wulf-Mathies ... under scrutiny (Photo: Sven Simon)

ations looks grim. The government would like the public services to forego a wage increase — but the employees are not going to accept that.

They feel that they have been bled for years while billions have been cast into the hungry maw of the farmers.

In autumn the public services plan to consider the 35-hour week, a demand that is disputed within the ÖTV membership. As in other unions ÖTV members regard as more sensible early retirement than the 35-hour week.

In view of the empty government, state government and local government coffers it will presumably be harder for the union to introduce the 35-hour week than with the metalworkers and printers. And a labour dispute in the public sector is more unpopular than in industry.

There are difficult years ahead for the ÖTV and its leadership. There is no place for looking at the past and internal disputes.

The time of the old hands and the one-man decisions is past.

Erika Martens
(Die Zeit, 22 June 1984)

Strike mediator called out of retirement

Georg Leber is certainly not the perfect example of a negotiator. Yet this 63-year-old has been brought out of retirement to try and do something in the difficult dispute involving the engineering and other metal workers.

He is neither the cool tactician nor the agile fox that it would be imagined should be the arbitrator in so difficult a position.

But perhaps adroitness and finesse are not what is wanted in the climate of incertitude, suspicion, even hate that prevails in a labour dispute that has lasted for weeks.

What is needed, perhaps, is a man of simple stature, a man with whom you know where you are and who can be relied upon. A man who even as a mediator can put his foot down.

When clouds of anger gathered at Leber's forehead thirty years ago he trade union colleagues quickly scented out his way.

He was born in Limburg, a bricklayer's son.

Some of the well turned-out revolutionary academics in the trades union may well have it at the back of their heads that Georg Leber is a traitor to the workers.

They think this because he was a passionate advocate for workers' accommo-



Georg Leber ... it's all about people (Photo: Sven Simon)

tion of wealth, because he was for the Emergency Legislation and the Western Alliance and because he invited an American president, Kennedy by name, to address IG Bau, the building workers' union. (Can you imagine Rengier alongside Wulf-Mathies at an ÖTV general congress?)

Leber himself, in April 1962, was close to calling a general strike. He went personally to 60,000 building contractors to explain to them clearly just how serious the situation was.

Leber is a man who thinks politics are about people. Since he left government and the Bundestag in 1983 little has been heard of him.

No one knows if Leber will be successful in the dispute as arbitrator in the metalworkers' dispute. It does not just depend on him.

In the archives there are often comments about his time as a minister, for transport, posts and defence, to the effect that he had been "tactically unfortunate".

It is not sure if future generations will understand this negative comment as it was meant.

Jochim Neander
(Die Welt, 20 June 1984)

■ THE ECONOMY

Slight short-term decline in exports predicted

West German exporters have revised their short-term expectations. They are slightly less confident, and orders from abroad have declined slightly.

In the second quarter of 1984 exports are unlikely to have been maintained at the January-March level. Yet the outlook is still good.

This state of affairs is only likely to change if protectionism sweeps all before it regardless of summit declarations.

Current trends are governed by the engineering workers' strike. Some deliveries have already ground to a halt and others are sure to follow.

There may have been foreign customers who were chary of ordering goods from Germany in March and April because they were worried the impending industrial dispute might make nonsense of delivery dates.

A further reason for the decline in demand may have been that US economic growth has tailed off. Trade with the United States had increased strongly, but so had business with other countries.

According to the DIW economic research institute, West Berlin, exports in the first quarter of 1984 were 3.6 per cent higher than in the last quarter of 1983, seasonally adjusted and in real terms.

In the last three months of 1983 exports were 3.2 per cent up on the previous quarter.

Ninety per cent of the increase can be attributed to trade with industrialised countries even though they only account for a little over 75 per cent of West German exports.

The investment climate has remained in many countries, which takes an obvious difference, given that

machinery and equipment make up a large proportion of German exports. This recovery is likely to gain further momentum.

Besides, the real exchange rate of the Deutschmark against other currencies indicates that German exports still enjoy a competitive edge in prices.

These factors continue to apply even though the repercussions of the strike and the slack summer period may for the time being have been superimposed on them.

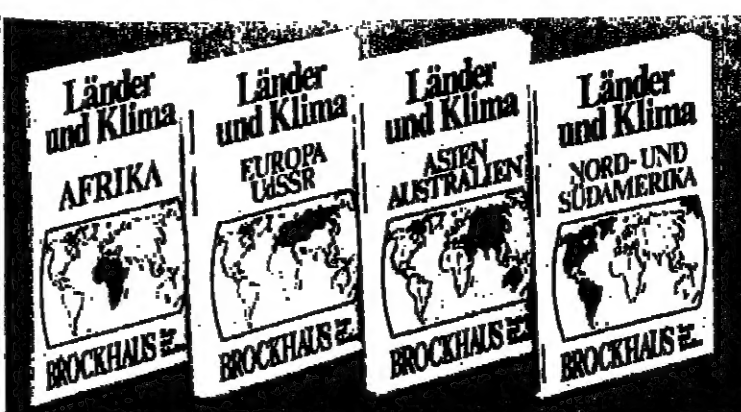
Exports are still a mainstay of the economy. But risks could occur if all concerned fail to abide by their pledges at the Western economic summit in London.

President Reagan may have agreed to be bound by the summit declaration on protectionism, but as the Presidential election campaign gains momentum he will need to reach decisions on more than fresh steel sanctions.

Bonn hopes the European Community will not be affected on account of the bulk steel agreement with the United States, but how will the Latin American countries react if their exports are cut too?

At the time of writing Brussels is due to reach a decision on restrictions on digital watches imported into France. Any such ruling may not extend to the entire EEC, but it will remain a blot in the Common Market's copybook.

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

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Soviets fail

Continued from page 6

forms and links with the West. On the same day that Kádár met Chernenko in Moscow the American Hungarian economic council met in America. (After the meeting with Chernenko the Hungarians announced that the agreement made between Kádár and Andropov for economic reform would remain in force.)

The meeting in the USA was reportedly very warm. The Reagan administration conceded an extension of the most-favoured nation agreement.

It is worth noticing that Budapest emphasised the parts of the Moscow Comecon resolutions that said the eastern economic community was "open" for cooperation with all states.

Here the Hungarians were supported by the Rumanians for whom the Hungarians generally have no love.

The Rumanian party publication *Scinteia* commenting on the Moscow Comecon summit said that Comecon would not be a "closed" organisation but "open" for wide-ranging cooperation not only with the socialist countries, but also with the developing nations, and with "the developed capitalist states".

Moreover, the Rumanian publication said, attention must be paid to cooperation within Comecon so that the interests of individual states are effectively protected.

The Russians were successful in two points: the adjustment of Russian crude oil prices to those prevailing on the international market, and the Moscow demand that the East Europeans should no longer ship a load of junk to Russia in payment for raw materials, but goods and merchandise of quality.

Carl Gustaf Ström
(Die Welt, 20 June 1984)

Warning that a quick solution to strike must be found

The economic up-swing will continue during the second half of the year so long as the labour dispute is swiftly brought to an end and with a realistic agreement, according to Otto Schlecht, state secretary at the Economic Affairs Ministry.

He added that the drop in production recorded over the past few weeks would eventually be made good and that the 2.5 per cent growth rate, included in the annual economic report, could still be achieved.

At the same time he said that as things stood at the present a smaller growth rate was probable.

Schlecht has not presented his ideas to the trade unions or employers' association, but speaking generally he has made it clear to the printing and engineering industries, that other branches of industry "had been able to conclude wage agreements in line with the economic upswing".

Apart from a prompt settlement of the wage negotiations Schlecht sees other factors that could cause an economic up-turn to alter the stagnation predicted for the second quarter.

He meant that the politicians are expected to translate into action the intentions made at the Western economic summit.

"The government must take decisive steps," he said.

Decisions must be made about tax reform, he maintained. In the Economic Affairs Ministry believes that a cut in taxation in 1986 would be the best way of ensuring economic growth.

He also called for a speedy decision about the environmental pollution caused by cars and some decisions on work time.

In a telephone survey the Ministry had come to the view that there were some "dark spots" in the economic landscape. There was concern that customers, particularly in ancillary industries, were turning to suppliers abroad.

Production short-falls and losses in pay and wages that could be in billions would mean taxation losses and so endanger the social security system.

The most important domestic risk, according to Schlecht, was a falling off in the building industry. He called on local communities to invest more in building schemes.

He said that the economic institutes' forecast that unemployment would on average during the year drop to 2.15 million was "too optimistic". The figure could, however, be under last year's level of 2.26 million.

The Ministry sees some hope for believing that there will be an improvement in the annual inflation rate, which could be at under three per cent, lower than expected.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 June 1984)

Professor Kurt Biedenkopf, the chairman of the CDU in Westphalia, was the man chosen to mediate in the printing industry wage dispute.

He was invited by the employers' representative, Manfred Beltz Rübelmann, and the printing union chairman, Erwin Ferlemann.

Exactly a year ago it looked as if Kurt Biedenkopf's political career, at 54, had come to an end. He struggled for the last position left to him, chairman of the CDU in Westphalia-Lippe after he had to vacate his place as top candidate in the CDU in North Rhine-Westphalia.

Biedenkopf, former CDU general secretary, survived the loss of the CDU chairmanship in the federal state. A year later with new standing he started off on a new political career.

Biedenkopf has been asked to mediate between the employers and the union in the printing dispute.

His name has been mentioned as a possible successor to Gaston Thorn as president of the European Community. He has the talents for the job.

He has political flair, a wealth of ideas, analytical powers, a talent for organisation and the ability to delegate.

The appointment demands certain qualities that by nature Biedenkopf did not possess, but he has acquired them by discipline — to be an honest broker and to be patient.

If negotiating were just a matter of powers to convince, it would be easy for Biedenkopf. More than most he knows how to arrange his thoughts clearly and to present them so that he can come out of a discussion the victor.

Biedenkopf gets off to a new political start



Kurt Biedenkopf ... flexible (Photo: Sven Simon)

Sparkling and with élan he pins you down less with rhetoric than with powers of suggestion, displaying the art of political argument. There are few in politics today who can measure up to him.

For a long time restlessness and arrogance has stood in his way. It was made too easy for him to reach the highest positions in the party.

His path has been strewn with laurels — the university professor who wrote his name into social history by submit-

ing an opinion on workers co-determination fifteen years ago, the practical businessman in the Henkel detergent concern, the thinker of an enlightened conservatism.

Helmut Kohl appointed his childhood friend from his Ludwigshafen days to be CDU general secretary in the important years when the CDU was in opposition.

But Kohl also despatched him off to politics in the provinces because he was disloyal, the worst thing imaginable in Kohl's eyes.

Biedenkopf wanted to dissuade Kohl from becoming the chancellor candidate. Biedenkopf was pro Strauss in 1980.

He is now mediator between a union that is notorious for its socialist ideologies, and the printer employers. Then he was the creator of the "Socialism or freedom" election slogan. But then Biedenkopf is a much-in-demand speaker on progressive discussion panels. Is that not a chameleon who briskly changes his colour?

Biedenkopf, on closer examination, adapts every time to the role before him. Such courage is unusual in politics. He does not change his opinions or his position, because he is opportunistic, but because he has adopted a new way of thinking, more flexible and innovative.

Such courage in politics is unusual. Kohl was at first unprepared to consider him for the job in Brussels, but he now has his support and Kohl's moral assistance as the printers' mediator.

It seems that two old school friends have met up again.

Eduard Neumaier
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 16 June 1984)

■ COMMERCE

Government aid programmes help a mini boom in small businesses

Klein Computer Systeme GmbH was set up in Ägidienberg, near Bonn, on 1 April this year. Managing director Wolfgang Vogtländer, 40, and his three employees sell small computers with programmes they have written themselves to tradesmen in the plumbing and central heating sector.

"The market is almost limitless," said Wolfgang Vogtländer, formerly a programmer and only recently self-employed.

Jean Franzen, six times West German amateur cycling champion plans to set up his own business this month in Dettendorf, a Bonn suburb. He is 26 and a biologist and was always fascinated by "wheels".

As he does not see much future in the sector he studied, he plans to open a shop specialising in goods for cyclists.

For months the headlines have read: "More and more risk going out into the cold".

Two years ago the West German Economics Institute (Cologne) complained that there were many business gaps that needed filling. Since then, according to reports from all economic sectors, there has been a continuous increase in the number of firms set up.

It is estimated that between 120,000 and 150,000 new firms were registered in 1983. Exact figures are not available since statistics on the establishment of new companies are not kept, and only a few of the newly established companies are reported in the Trade Register.

The figures available, however, indicate that there has been a boom in the number of new firms set up, and an enormous increase in firms that go into business with state aid.

Wolfgang Vogtländer and Jean Franzen are two who have received state support. Vogtländer was handed credits exceeding DM40,000, and Franzen has been given a helping hand of DM45,000.

Most of the cash these two were granted came from the two most important federal programmes in this sphere, the *Eigenkapitalhilfe-Programm* (capitalisation aid programme) and the ERP programme, a programme set up to assist in the basic formation of a new company, both administered by the Lastenausgleichsbank (LAB) in Bonn.

The maximum that can be allocated from each programme is DM300,000, or DM600,000 from the two in total. Most of the requests for aid, however, are at the lower levels.

But certain conditions must be fulfilled. The sum invested must amount to at least DM40,000 to attract *Eigenkapitalhilfe* funds, and the founder of the company must put up from his or her own resources at least twelve per cent of the investment.

This assistance is not repayable for ten years, and in the event of insolvency the funds have full liability — so the loans are in effect like a personal investment.

The ERP programme conditions for loans are not so favourable. After two years repayments become due and the interest is substantially higher, although usually lower than the market rate.

Apart from these two programmes there is a small supplementary LAB programme that makes available funds for the establishment of technology-

Christ und Welt Abendlicher Merkur

oriented businesses as well as promotional aid from the federal states.

These programmes have shown satisfactory results. In 1982 there were 12,400 companies and firms set up with federal aid. In the following year there were 16,500.

In 1982 the two investment aid programmes provided DM710 million in capitalisation funds and in the following year this had increased to DM1,280 million. And this trend continues.

According to Dietmar Penzler of LAB at the beginning of this year there was a further leap forward.

In the first quarter of this year 5,000 applications for the establishment of a company were filed as compared with 4,000 in the same period in 1983.

Gerhard Achilles of the Economic Affairs Ministry sees another figure that shows that the summit of this trend has not yet been reached. He cites the increasing number of approaches made to tradesmen's associations, specialist societies, tax advisers and above all the chambers of commerce and industry concerning starting a new business.

Hans-Hermann Jürgensmann of the West German Industry and Commerce Association said the number of persons

seeking advice at the chambers of industry and commerce nationwide doubled between 1981 and 1983. This year he believes there will be a further increase of between 20 and 30 per cent.

Willi Nitzschmann, 26, also decided to go self-employed. He is a trained butcher and since Easter he has taken over an Edeka shop (a chain of food-stores) in Bonn-Bad Godesberg. He needed DM300,000 to take over the business, providing DM50,000 of his own money and getting a state credit of DM70,000. The rest was provided by bank credits.

After four weeks he would have liked to chuck it all up. The 16-hour day, employees who walk off the job, "the excess charges made for the stock I took over" as well as the fact the customers are staying away, have all contributed to giving him his first ulcer.

"I would have done better buying a cottage in the country," he now says.

Many new businesses have to file for bankruptcy because the owners do not have enough experience of the business, they made a poor estimate of the market or have insufficient capital, according to Eva May of the Institute for Small Business Research, Bonn.

The Institute's latest research shows that a quarter of new businesses go out of business within the first seven years. Eva May said that the Institute did expect the figure to be higher.

A comparison of companies that have received support and those that have not shows that state aid to set up a business has had a good influence.

According to Eva May there are fewer aided firms that go bankrupt. It has been estimated that less than ten per cent of firms set up with capitalisation aid became insolvent.

There is a high insolvency rate among young business people and Gerhard Achilles is involved in this problem.

He is further worried by the fact that a good 50 per cent of the new companies formed with aid are not in fact new companies.

Most of these are take-overs or "partial participation" in a company in which the new partner puts up cash and becomes a partner at the second biochemistry symposium held in Porz, Cologne, under the aegis of Esa, the European Space Agency.

The two men will be Ernst Willi Messerschmidt, 39, and Reinhard Furrer, 43, who will be joined on board the US space shuttle in the Spacelab mission by physicist Wubbo Ockels, 38. The decision to send up three European astronauts came as such a surprise that Europe at the time of writing did not have a full reserve crew at the ready, which is standard procedure in space missions.

It will break another record too. Twelve Europeans will be accompanying five US astronauts. Neither East nor West has yet sent up so many on one mission.

The West German astronaut Ulf Merbold, who was the only European astronaut on Spacelab's first mission last December, will stay grounded this time as he has to step in at the last moment.

But he had a number of comments to make at the Cologne symposium, which was held at the German Aerospace Research Establishment (DFVLR), from which Messerschmidt and Furrer may derive benefit.

Spending 13 hours a day taking measurements and conducting experiments, he said, too long. You could not be sure quantity was not being sacrificed at the expense of quality.

Wubbo Ockels added that in his view it was unfair to infer from his fellow-astronaut's remarks that data from the Spacelab mission were less than satisfactory for having been gathered unprofessionally.

Spacelab's maiden mission, on which experiments were carried out, was at first numerically a success, said C. R. Kempinski AG, Berlin.

According to Pagels, engagement of this sort was of more value to the city than mini-projects.

The Senate and the Trades Union Federation were agreed on one point: economic conferences alone would not solve the city's structural problems.

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RESEARCH

Two Germans and a Dutchman chosen for Spacelab flight

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Two German astronauts are to man Spacelab's D-1 (D for Deutschland) mission next summer, with the emphasis on German space experiments and tests. Details were outlined by Wolfgang Vogtländer at the second biochemistry symposium held in Porz, Cologne, under the aegis of Esa, the European Space Agency.

The two men will be Ernst Willi Messerschmidt, 39, and Reinhard Furrer, 43, who will be joined on board the US space shuttle in the Spacelab mission by physicist Wubbo Ockels, 38.

The decision to send up three European astronauts came as such a surprise that Europe at the time of writing did not have a full reserve crew at the ready, which is standard procedure in space missions.

It will break another record too. Twelve Europeans will be accompanying five US astronauts. Neither East nor West has yet sent up so many on one mission.

The West German astronaut Ulf Merbold, who was the only European astronaut on Spacelab's first mission last December, will stay grounded this time as he has to step in at the last moment.

But he had a number of comments to make at the Cologne symposium, which was held at the German Aerospace Research Establishment (DFVLR), from which Messerschmidt and Furrer may derive benefit.

Spending 13 hours a day taking measurements and conducting experiments, he said, too long. You could not be sure quantity was not being sacrificed at the expense of quality.

Wubbo Ockels added that in his view it was unfair to infer from his fellow-astronaut's remarks that data from the Spacelab mission were less than satisfactory for having been gathered unprofessionally.

Spacelab's maiden mission, on which experiments were carried out, was at first numerically a success, said C. R. Kempinski AG, Berlin.

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schedule had been accomplished, he said. It was too early to arrive at a final evaluation of the scientific results, but a number of important findings had already emerged.

In medical tests, for instance, a surprisingly low vein pressure had been recorded in zero gravity. There had also been a significant decline in the number of lymphocytes, which play an important part in fighting infection.

In a state of weightlessness people evidently also fail to notice movements of their entire body in a certain direction until later than they would do on the ground.

More had been learnt about the sense of balance, which proved steadily less useful as a direction-finder in space, with the eyes playing a more important part in orientation.

In materials tests the mission specialists succeeded for one in creating protein crystals 1,000 times larger than can be produced on earth.

That, said DFVLR's Professor Feuerhacker, made the crystals easier to observe, which could be of importance for the manufacture of artificial enzymes.

In astronomy, Chappell said, X-ray lines had been identified in observation

of various celestial bodies that indicated the existence of silicon and other elements. Previously only iron lines had, for the most part, been observed.

Slight variations in the intensity of solar radiation had also been observed.

Spacelab also first identified carbon dioxide and water in the thermosphere, methane in the mesosphere and deuterium in the upper atmosphere (between 100 and 150 kilometres up).

Inferences may thus be drawn as to how gases and certain impurities are transported vertically into the atmosphere and, in some cases, released into outer space.

Chappell said the scientific findings had already proved so interesting that Spacelab's maiden mission could definitely be classified as a success.

He even suggested that the findings had been so satisfactory as to persuade the US government to decide in favour of NASA building a larger space station for the 1990s.

In spite of financial and other misgivings it now looks as though the Europeans will take part in this project.

Anatol Johansen
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 8 June 1984)



Reinmar Lüst... a fighter
(Photo: IP)

New head for European Space Agency

DIE WELT

Physicist Reinmar Lüst, 61, has retired after 12 years as head of the Max Planck Society to take over as head of Esa, the European Space Agency.

At first glance he looks almost frail, the very picture of an old-world scientist — reserved rather than absent-minded.

A Wuppertal-born Protestant clergyman's son, he quietly, imperturbably reviews his 12 years of commitment and experience at the helm of the Max Planck Society.

But as soon as space research is mentioned his eyes light up and he is transformed. His voice no longer sounds monotonous and his answers have more verve.

When he takes over as third Esa director-general in July he will be firmly abreast of his new job. Professor Lüst was appointed head of the Max Planck Extra-Terrestrial Physics Institute in Garching, near Munich, back in 1953.

He is not a patriarch, a giant of science, as his Max Planck predecessors Otto Hahn and Adolf Butenandt were.

He is an attentive listener and keen to convince people he is talking or negotiating with. He makes a point of talking

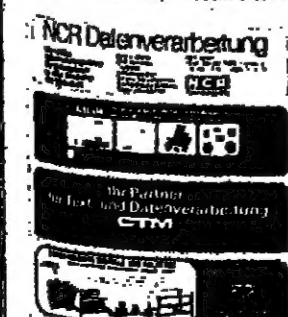
Continued on page 12



Waiting for their orbit. German physicists Reinhard Furrer (left) and Ernst Messerschmidt are to go on a mission with Spacelab.
(Photo: Heiner)

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■ ARCHITECTURE

Frankfurt to open museum to fill in missing link

Munich Technical University has a vast stock of architectural items including a huge number of plans and drawings. Because it has not been exhibited, it is a virtually unknown collection.

How ironic it is then, that Frankfurt has a museum of architecture although it has nothing to put in it.

Munich Technical University has an incredible 200,000 architect's plans, including drawings and designs by architects of European renown such as Balthasar Neumann and the Dientzenhofers, Carl von Fischer, Klenze, Gärtner, Semper, Brücklein, Theodor Fischer, Riemerschmid and Behrens.

Yet next to no-one has ever heard of this treasure trove because it is in storage, there being neither funds nor space available to exhibit it.

Then suddenly someone hits on the idea that architecture is a missing link in

exhibition there were many signs giving rise to hopes of a better and critically organised future.

The new museum's claim to national status is best supported while stock is still being laid in by the architecture of the building itself.

Oswald Mathias Ungers stripped down the sturdy, cube-shaped, four-storey neo-Renaissance villa on the Mainufer to its outside walls, had the roof glazed and fitted out the skylit shell with a new five-storey exhibition interior.

In the shaft-like open centre of this building within, a slender tower reaches up to the sky. Like the walls, ceilings and floors it is bright white in colour.

Its white gable roof reaches up to the skylight. Bathed in light it is a fascinating abstract architectural sculpture, a primal house under the cover of the historic villa's shell.

So the architecture exhibition as a topic is symbolised in the building itself. The museum's architecture exhibits itself. The framework assumes the status of a key exhibit.

That might be considered a little showy if the forms were obtrusive by virtue of a distinctive design of their own, but Ungers again relies on the square as a primal geometrical figure.

His museum building consists in all its parts of a modular system of squares and cubes, which gives the subdivided sequences of rooms on the individual floors a rational clarity but makes a large-scale room such as the basement with its four supports look like a cold

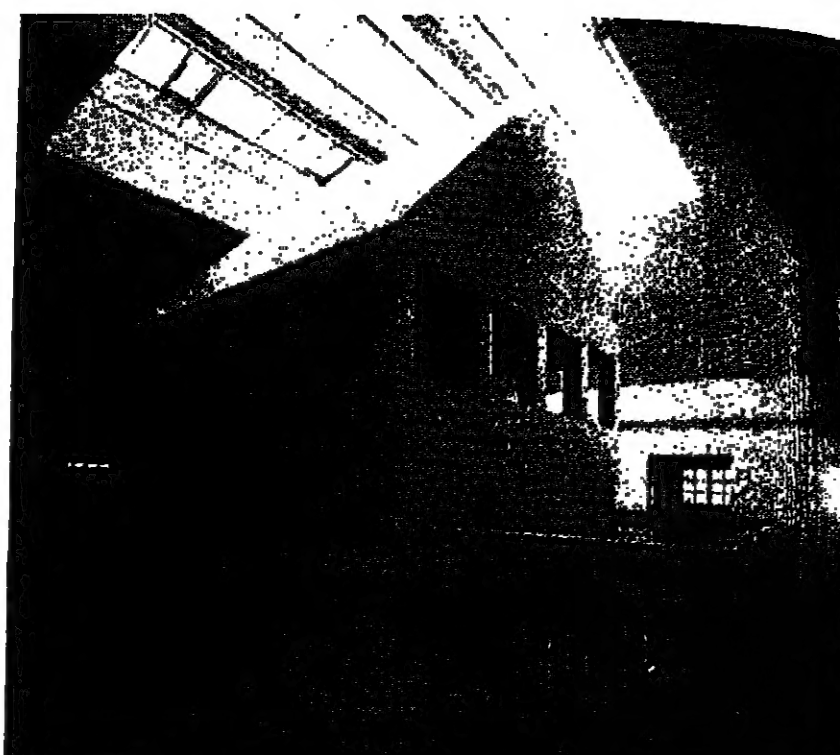
A cube — even a slightly squat one — appears only from outside to be a harmonious shape. As an enclosing space it fails to constitute a human experience unless it is relieved by a crowning dome.

The harmony envisaged fails to get off the drawing board. A more mathematical formula is not to be lived in.

In other respects Ungers similarly calls on visitors to his building to show great theoretical understanding, patience and even respect for the unconditional character of the modular system.

The compartments of the cubic building within the outer shell, for instance, are transposed in relation to the villa's windows, with the result that there is no longer a view of the River Main.

The square as the sole and final wisdom has put paid to the genius of the lo-



House within a house: the German architecture museum is a renovated villa. (Photo: dpa)

cation by which Ungers and his admirers set such great store.

The architect is deeply insulted by profane questions such as "Where is the toilet?" or "How do I get to the next storey?"

Such animal needs are to be satisfied in the dead, concealed intermediate zone between the outer and inner shell of the structure or in the narrow confines of the cellar. These facilities are banished from the building proper, which makes them almost impossible to find.

Access from one floor to the next is via alarmingly narrow and ugly emergency staircases. Ungers seems to have been most reluctant to cater for people who might want to use the building.

If you happen to touch one of the surfaces painted alabaster-white in a palatial interior, let alone sit down and cross your legs, you are sure to have spoiled the pure as the driven snow appearance of the spatial sculpture and to have defiled the work of art.

What Ungers has done to the exterior of the villa is more interesting than his architectural game of glass beads in the interior. It is bathed in a sea of glass.

A glass-roofed, light-flooded hall runs at ground level right round the building. It is an inviting foyer when viewed from the street, forming a concourse on both sides.

In the yard it encompasses a quadrangular exhibition pavilion that paraphrases horizontally the cubic system of the main building.

The facade of the main building can

thus be seen everywhere through the glass roofs of the surrounding building. The attractive, historic architecture of the original building is thus incorporated in the museum and deliberately exhibited, as it were.

The villa, which houses the exhibition building and the tower, is given the status of an exhibit by an interface of exterior and interior that in more than one respect defies perspective.

The result is an abundance of spatial experiences and playful mannerisms. Rustic niches have been hewn into the rustic exterior of the villa to house radiators to heat the glass passages.

This is a sight at which it is hard to suppress a smile, reminiscent as it is of so many scurrilous features of historic architecture in the 19th century.

The old chestnut tree in the (natural) square light and air shaft of the courtyard is not entirely natural in appearance.

It has been trimmed and is hence in by square railings, yet is seemingly irrepressible in not growing straight. It looks like a fossil from the pre-modern period that has failed to make the ecological transition to cubic shape.

Understanding of nature has not been a strong point of architecture anywhere in this century.

Yet the new architecture must, despite its shortcomings and oddities, be a work of architecture and head shoulders above the usual new museum buildings in Germany.

It incorporates a fantastic abundance of alternating spatial experiences. Ungers conveys in the narrow confines of an inner suburb and the shell of the original building without betraying strict architectural principles.

One needs only to compare it to the neighbouring film museum to see how superior Ungers' conversion is.

The film museum has a staircase for effect that is simply in the way ever you go, leaving nothing but a dead room.

The architecture museum is a rationally designed, aesthetically ambitious plastic structure that does justice to its purpose fully and with a romantic pose in the purpose of exhibiting architecture.

The first exhibition at the German Architecture Museum is entitled "The Architecture of Modernity. Post-Modern Architecture from 1960 to 1980."

Godfried Knapp (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 4 June 1984)

THE ARTS

Neumeier lends Mississippi touch to Hamburg ballet week

The Hamburg ballet week, run by choreographer John Neumeier for the 10th year in a row, opened at the Hamburg Ballet. Among the features are Gustav Mahler's symphonies choreographed by Neumeier himself, works by Balanchine and Neumeier's choreography of Bach's Suite No. 3 and a program of Nijinsky, Vaslav.

Neumeier's American tone was evident in a Streetcar named Desire, which he created for the Stuttgart Ballet, particularly for Marcia Haydée.

It was first performed last December and only concentrates on Tennessee Williams' play but is an on-the-spot investigation of New Orleans.

It is no wonder, then, that Neumeier's work is inspired by impressions of New Orleans. The backdrop of the Villa Belle Meur is reminiscent of the metropolis on the Mississippi just as do the chandeliers and blowers on the stage. He especially presents an outward picture of the city and astonishingly catches the psychological world of Blanche DuBois to music by Sergei Prokofiev (Fur Elise for piano) and Alfred Schnittke.

Schnittke's First Symphony hits the stage dramatically with its variety of color techniques and its turbulent structure. The music was a recording of the premiere with the Gorki Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Gennadi Rodionov.

The choreography reveals the delusions and memories of Blanche du Bois in a complicated but poetic choreography in a labyrinthine tangle of human relationships.

Marcia Haydée as the phantom-like Blanche, fascinated with her elegance, in dream-like gestures, and where necessary, aggressive gesticulations.

Uli Grether danced Blanche's sister Isadora, with both feet on the ground, as it were.

It is difficult to single out names from the excellent Stuttgart Ballet. Richard Krieger and Vladimir Kloss in the boxing

fight were a counterweight to the fragile world Blanche had created.

The applause for the Stuttgart guest appearance and for Neumeier's choreography was tremendous.

There was also much appreciation of the tenth Nijinsky Gala evening, which, as usual, was a pot pourri of ballet.

Contrary to usual gala ballet evenings in which virtuoso dancers and pas de deux show what they can do, Neumeier's Nijinsky Galas have always had a theme. Last year it was "Romantic Dance", and this year it was "Symphonic Dance", a difficult theme, but which was adequate for the programme.

Neumeier handled the symphonic dance as a ballet whose action comes directly from the music. Absolute music was the centre-point of the Nijinsky evening, and of course two pioneers of this dance development were included.

Marcia Haydée danced Maurice Béjart's Isadora, a melodramatic homage to Isadora Duncan to music by Liszt, Chopin, Beethoven, Schubert, Scriabin and Rouget de Lisle (composer of the Marseillaise). This was not without pathos.

The choreography was more stringent than that created by George Balanchine, who died a year ago.

Neumeier has already devoted an evening to Balanchine. In the Nijinsky Gala he presented Serenade and, as an example of Balanchine's later work the Pavane, spectacularly danced by Patricia McBride — a choreography that bridged the way to the Isadora Duncan idea.

Neumeier's choreography for the third movement of Mahler's Third Symphony, Night, was less convincing. The concentrated music to Nietzsche's poem Mankind, pay heed dominated the ballet.

Then followed compositions without a text, Debussy (Nuages by Kylian) and Bach (Vaslav and Bach Suite Number 3 by Neumeier).

Finally Neumeier offered his witty ballet on Benjamin Britten's Variations on a Theme by Purcell.

Here not only were the members of



On the outside, hearing in the secret listeners. Part of Karl Henning Seemann's group of figures in Freiburg academy of music. (Photo: dpa)



Neumeier's choreography of Gustav Mahler's Sixth Symphony (Photo: Peter Peitsch)

■ MANKIND

When the heavens fell in on the migrating Celts

In the fourth century BC a mysterious migratory urge overcame the Celts who marched off in every direction, north, east, south and west.

Their traces can be found today in central and south Europe and even in Asia Minor.

In BC 335 the Celts met Alexander the Great at his camp on the lower Danube. The Macedonian King asked them what they feared the most, and he was given the legendary reply that they feared most that the heavens could fall on their heads.

Later the heavens did fall on their heads for they were conquered by Alexander.

The Celts were in the Bavaria region from the Hallstatt period of the Iron Age, but the first traces of the Celts in Yugoslavia appear in BC 300. Next to them settled a large tribe whose name is still unknown. They were known by the collective name "Illyrians".

The Pre-Historic Collection in Munich has devoted an exhibition to Celts and Illyrians in Yugoslavia, dealing with this difficult pre-historical period.

The Laibach National Museum has selected the most beautiful and interesting objects from the 500-year period before the turn of the era. The finds, shown for the first time outside Yugoslavia, indicate impressively the variety and the timeless beauty of this Iron Age cultural group.

One of the most splendid of the finds is a golden death mask from Trebeniste.

This well-preserved, marvellously hammered golden mask was laid over the dead man's face, to underline his importance and also in the belief that it would halt decay.

Rarely is possible to discern a specific Illyrian culture,

Hellenic influences can be recognised

the most, as in the finds of Greek ceramics and terracotta work.

The Illyrian nobility was cosmopolitan, striving to be Greek. The helmet is reminiscent of Greek forms, as is the tableware and the small ornament box.

The single sided sword was made following Greek examples, which the Illyrians valued in a small, short design. The Celtic element seemed cruder. This element favoured geometric and later ornamental, curved surfaces.

Small animal figures of gold and silver are evidence of the high artistic skill of the Illyrians.

It is not easy for a visitor to recognise the highlights of the collection, for there is no exhibition catalogue.

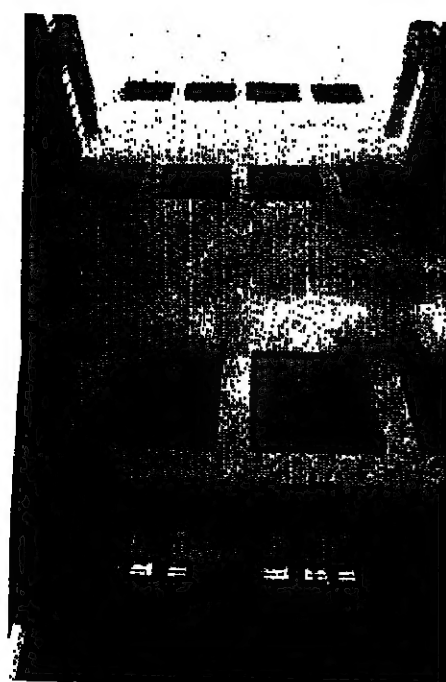
Seeing the exhibits in lighted glass



Greek-Illyrian helmet from 600 BC (Photo: Die Welt)

cases is exciting and fascinating, but it would have been more interesting if there was something more to look at and study than the exhibits alone, even if the experts have not yet been able to solve the Illyrian puzzle.

Rose-Marie Borngrässer (Die Welt, 30 May 1984)



An American flavour

the exhibition sector and is fitted out with a fully-fledged museum in Frankfurt even though the exhibits have yet to be bought and will cost a packet.

So the architecture museum must surely be described as the sensation of the entire series of new museums planned in Frankfurt. Starting from scratch, it really is an idea for and with a future.

Other cities have art museums, history museums, film museums and a Jewish museum such as are currently under construction in Frankfurt, but none has a separate architecture museum in a building of its own. That is a world first.

So the men who had this particular idea grandly christened their brainchild the German Architecture Museum even though it cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be said to have been sired by Germany.

On this occasion Frankfurt decided to go it alone. The Germans have come by the museum more by good luck than good management. But they will in no way need to be ashamed of the newcomer in the long term.

At the baptism it did look at times as though a sect of US architects and its German apostles had set up their headquarters in the new museum.

But in the confusion of the opening



The museum is an exhibit in itself

NATURAL SCIENCE

Evolution and extinction: everything is probably doomed, but why?

Death, writes Professor Ziegler of the Senckenberg Institute, Frankfurt, in the magazine *Natur und Museum*, is a comprehensible and inevitable individual phenomenon with which we are daily confronted.

The extinction of entire species and lines of descent is harder to understand and hard to explain, he notes in an essay entitled *Death, Extinction and Extinction*.

Palaeontologists' findings allow no other conclusion than that at certain times in prehistory entire groups of fauna have died out within a relatively short space of time.

Mayr, a US authority on evolution, says 99.99 per cent of all lines of evolution have been doomed to extinction in the course of terrestrial history. He is very likely right.

Simpson, the grand old man of evolution research in the United States, agrees there have been many more now extinct relatives of existing groups of animals.

There have for instance been at least four times as many extinct species of hoofed animals than still survive.

Most modern writers, such as Bonn

Continued from page 9

comprehensibly about science. He is also prepared to fight for a cause and for the people concerned. He has long been strongly in favour of space research, especially in Bremen, but worked at a European level as long ago as the early 1960s.

He worked and thought in European terms, realistically insisting on cost-benefit analysis before backing to the hilt scientific and technological research programmes with an authority that often tipped the scales in their favour.

He is a longstanding member of the European Science Foundation. He has so many jobs it will take time to clear the decks and hand over to others, which is why he will not be moving from Munich to Paris until September. Many will be setting great store by his work at Esa.

Reimar Lüst does not take them lightly but is not allowing himself to be overwhelmed by them either. He will have an annual budget of DM2bn to administer and the governments of 11 European countries to persuade to arrive at unanimous decisions.

When conversation comes round to finances the old naval officer in him comes to the fore. "It is like a convoy of 12 ships," he says. "The small fry determine the speed and the large ships have to be kept on course."

The round dozen he refers to stands for Esa and its 11 member-countries.

He is as keen as ever on extra-terrestrial research but is unlikely to lose sight of the ground in spite of his high-wire act.

He will need to walk a tightrope between science and commerce, sounding out the frontiers of political feasibility and the demands of an industry dependent on subsidies.

The prospect doesn't daunt him. He is a fighter, and he is arguably even better at persuasion.

Winfried Wessendorf
(Die Welt, 1 June 1984)

DIE WELT

palaeontologist Professor Erben, doubt whether we will ever know just why one species died out and another survived.

But they reject many explanations that have been suggested. They feel a genetical degeneration of species shortly before their extinction is improbable.

Supporters of this theory have suggested, for example, that the ammonites died out because their coiled shells uncoiled.

They also rule out the Red Queen hypothesis put forward by van Valen, the Dutch scientist, who suggested that species died out when they failed to keep up with environmental changes in competition with others.

In Alice in Wonderland the Red Queen told Alice she had to run as fast as she could to stay where she was.

There have been at least five major eras in which species died out en masse:

- the Lower Silurian period, 450 million years ago;
- the Upper Devonian period, 350 million years ago;
- the late Permian period, 225 million years ago;
- the late Triassic period, 190 million years ago;
- and 65 million years ago, at the end of the Cretaceous and the beginning of the Tertiary period, which for instance was when the dinosaurs died out.

At a symposium on the dynamics of extinction held at the University of Arizona in Flagstaff, Ariz., scientists debat-

ed whether there might not have been other such periods, not necessarily as dramatic in the rate at which species died out.

They suggested the transition from the Devonian to the Carboniferous, the Turonian (a sub-division of the Cretaceous), the transition from the Eocene to the Oligocene in the Tertiary and the end of the Ice Age.

Sepkoski and Raup even feel there to have been 11 such periods over the last 250 million years. They say periods in which extinction occurs en masse probably recur at intervals of 25 million years.

McLaren, a Canadian, has noted that at the end of a period in the Upper Devonian era marine fauna in shallow waters must have been hit by a phenomenon that triggered the extinction of an enormous number of species.

Reef-building coral and stromatolites vanished (and with them reefs found in Germany since the Middle Devonian), killing many allied fauna too.

Many varieties of brachiopod died out. There was a serious decline among the trilobites. The number of conodonts, another category of fossil, plummeted too.

This fatal period for so many species is felt to have been triggered by poisoning of the sea, changes in current, possible movements back or forward by the oceans, or sudden, temporary changes in temperature.

There are three main categories of causes that may have accounted for such major environmental changes:

- endogenous change in the substrata or mantle of the earth (releasing heat,

triggering volcanic activity or emitting gases);

- changes in the solar system, such as less or more intensive solar radiation;
- the impact of asteroids on the earth's surface, which could wreak all manner of havoc.

The turning point at the transition from the Cretaceous to the Tertiary when the dinosaurs died out, is nowadays usually attributed to an asteroid crash.

The assumption is based on strange findings back to this period having been found in various parts of the world to contain unusually large counts of iridium, which is a rare metal on earth but fairly frequent in asteroids and meteorites.

Kauffman said in Flagstaff, however, that the dinosaurs were not the only victims of the Turonian period, an earlier one, a result of changes in ocean currents, water temperatures and salt content.

Species that failed to survive the transition from the Cretaceous to the Tertiary include ammonites, many reptiles such as ichthyosaurs, plesiosaurs and dinosaurs.

But the dinosaurs took longer to die out than has been assumed. Professor Erben has found evidence of dinosaur eggs in the south of France.

This is a period by which dinosaurs are generally felt long to have been hunted to extinction.

All these eras apart from the last were long before homo sapiens and modern man on the scene. They were due to natural causes associated with the development of the earth and its creatures.

But man now has a detrimental effect on trends, and many biologists feel disturbed young people. But their widest-ranging mass destruction of species ever is now in progress.

The current rate at which species are being exterminated is four times higher than what palaeontologists might consider normal.

Doris Rumberg
(Die Welt, 15 June 1984)

Insects show aircraft designers how

structing gigantic artificial insects to carry an aircraft fuselage.

A king-sized dragonfly wing would weigh only a few pounds but in the size required it would lack stability and be of no use.

Scientists have entirely different objectives. What factors affect flight and controlling it? Which muscles are used to control which activity? When and how is uplift created? How does the insect's "fuel system" work?

Answers to these and similar questions are sought by Professor Werner Nachtigall of Saarbrücken University department of zoology.

Scientists need to have endless patience with their "test pilots" and the problems that arise in taking measurements.

The housefly has several dozen bundles of flight muscles in its diminutive body. The smallest are a few hundredths of a millimetre in diameter.

When flying flat out the housefly covers in a second a distance about 250 times its body length, beating its wings 300 times or so as it does.

Scientists need to be extremely patient to measure their progress exactly.

The flies, bees, butterflies and locusts

are attached by a droplet of wax to perches in the wind tunnel to make sure they aren't injured. The perches are measuring instruments to record torque, uplift and so on.

At the same time wind speed is controlled to simulate horizontal flight. If, say, a bee appears to be flying at speed of two metres per second the wind speed is set at two metres per second.

A piece of paper is held under the legs to make them take off. As soon as it is removed they start beating their wings.

Top-flight performers have stayed aloft for several hours, keeping a camera and the measuring equipment busy.

Their wings are rigid in front and flexible at the back. In flight their contour resembles a figure of eight, and they switch angle to steer.

Göttingen University runs wind tunnel tests of locusts that have electronic fixed to their wings and wings measured. The aim is to find out how wings are controlled by the nervous system.

What practical use are such tests? Professor Nachtigall of Saarbrücken says: "Suggestions and ideas at most are all we can borrow from nature, which doesn't supply blueprints for the construction engineer."

So it remains to be seen what findings so laboriously made will prove in practice.

Gerhard Tander
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 June 1984)

GROWING UP

Modern child 'no nuttier than parents'

Mannheimer MORGEN

Most young people are no more psychologically disturbed than their parents were in their day, says Professor

Dieter Dietrich, a psychiatrist at Mannheim University.

He told a conference in Berlin that the media had got the impression from the media that smoking, drinking and the misuse of alcohol and drugs were part of everyday life for young people.

He said, normal for children to have difficulties both with their parents and with other adults during puberty, but to tend towards non-conformism, and to play a big role.

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Parents' great worry: will our children find jobs?

The greatest worry of West German parents is whether their children will find work when they leave school, according to an Infratest poll.

More than two-thirds of the 2,390 parents interviewed expressed this fear. The survey was the third commissioned by the Institute for Educational Research attached to Dortmund University.

Fifty-one per cent said that taking the *Abitur* (school leaving certificate qualifying a student for university entrance) was the best qualification for getting a job. Only seven per cent said the *Hauptschulabschluss*, the school leaving certificate.

Parents put particular value on the *Abitur* plus training for a specific occupation.

A university education — 20 per cent — came well behind the value placed on occupational training — 51 per cent.

Hauptschule (boys and girls up to the age of 14/15) have lost their favour among parents in comparison with previous surveys. Asked which end of school certificate did parents wish their children to have only thirteen per cent said the *Hauptschule* leaving certificate.

TV 'has destructive influence' on the learning process

Does television rob children of their childhood? Professor Gerhard Priesemann, an educational expert and the new vice-chancellor of Kiel University says yes.

Television gives children access to everything on earth, he said. The cultural gap between children and adults has been lost.

The difference between being mature, achieved often by a painful learning process, and being immature, has been neutralised by television.

It is impossible to avoid the "world of the picture". Teachers have the responsibility to develop a suitable moral environment from this picture world. Television should only be brought into a child's world when it can suitably develop and improve comprehension of the world.

Television programmes do not make enough allowance for differences in age.

Professor Priesemann gave the example of the child who was told that his grandfather had died and who asked: "Who shot grandpa?" For the child reality is no longer around him or her. The world is taken to be as it appears on television. Television limits experience for the child must sit still till the film comes to an end.

It is becoming more and more difficult to process television information in the brain than the information provided by real experience. This is a result of the lay-out of the human mind. The right half of the brain processes optical and musical sensations. The left, idle when watching television, is used for speech, knowledge, abstract thinking, calculating and analysing.

He said: "Children should only watch television when they have sufficient powers of speech and thought to be able to digest the complicated events that take place on the television screen."

Children at the pre-school age should not watch television.

(Kölner Nachrichten, 9 June 1984)

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(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 13 June 1984)

MODERN LIVING

Beerhall staff doped beer, stole wallets

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The famed *Gemütlichkeit* of Munich's beerhalls seems to have taken on a change of meaning: one night recently, police raided the Donisl, in the Marienplatz near the city centre and arrested the manager and his staff of 140.

A subsequent search revealed more than 100 purses and wallets stuffed into cupboards and drawers in the hostelry's various rooms.

More damaging, police also discovered the raw material for a Mickey Finn, knockout drops, which it is claimed were used to dope the beer so the customer could be robbed as he (or she) slept.

It is alleged that over the past four years, there have been more than 140 cases of robbery.

The balloon went up when a customer woke up in time to notice that a waiter had removed his watch and wallet. Under questioning, the waiter revealed that he was under instructions from his boss to steal. The waiter later hung himself in his cell.

A police spokesman said that the manager, Engelbert Mayrhofer, 53, indeed threatened to sack staff who did not steal.

Other charges are that staff heavily watered down the beer and that they recycled slops from beer and lemonade glasses.

Part of the enormity of this tale lies in the fact that Donisl is not just any old beerhall. It was founded in 1715 by Dionys Härtl and later developed a reputation as the place to go for the famous *Weisswurst*, white sausage.

It became the trendy place to go at festival time when the dance halls closed up at four in the morning. The throngs put up with the jostling and the kicks in the shins and the elbows in the ribs just to get a cold *Weisswurst* and a warm beer.

But at other times of the year, too, Donisl exercised a certain special attraction. It was a tolerance of behaviour that obliterated the line between folks-



Illegal border crossing

No, not between the two Germanies, but between the Dutch town of Kerkrade and Herzogenrath in Germany. A barbed wire fence was pulled down in 1968, but the concrete base remains. People can be fined for crossing the frontier in this way.

ness and uncouthness. A certain coarseness of manner and speech was excused.

Now that the balloon has gone up, many people are coming forward with accounts of what must have happened on occasions when they visited Donisl. They say that it became clear in the sober light of day that the beer was watered. That horrible taste they vaguely remember was clearly slops.

For many years there have been complaints linking Donisl with theft, and there was one incident in which somebody received a cracked skull. But investigation has been handicapped because victims and witnesses tended not to be in full control of their senses.

Police said the hall was a hotbed of theft, deceit and also extortion.

One day a man appeared near Donisl clad only in underclothing. His coat, worth 2,000 marks, had disappeared at Donisl. The man was mentally disturbed and the police thought they were doing him a favour by letting the matter rest.

In another case that now takes on significance, a woman who had drunk just one glass of schnapps and one glass of beer suffered a loss of memory for a while and when she came to found some of her belongings missing.

She was sent to a doctor, who said she indeed was in a state of pathological intoxication.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 May 1984)

Actor seeks an injunction against book

Delon also objects to the term "supermacho", which, say his lawyers, is defamation of character. In addition, a straw poll had revealed that the term was likely to be misunderstood as meaning a sort of "super masochist".

A reference saying Delon was involved "directly or indirectly" in the murder of his bodyguard, is also objected to.

He objects to an allegation that he feels at home in the Sicilian clan running the Marseilles underworld, and that he has made the world of crime his own.

Not just a plea but a work of literature

A lawyer's written defence submissions in cases which are not held in public are subject to copyright restrictions, a Düsseldorf court has found.

The decision was reached in connection with a case involving the Flick party funds affair.

On the wrong end of the decision was the Hamburg weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel*, which in January last year published long passages from the defence submissions of a lawyer for the former head of Flick, Eberhard von Brauchitsch, who was facing bribery charges.

The lawyer regarded publication as an infringement against copyright and sued. At the first instance, he failed. He appealed.

The appeal court judge said the lawyer had succeeded in creating literature. It was a creative work.

But he said this limitation was not a matter of restricting freedom of the Press.

Spiegel was allowed to report in detail on the case. Its journalists could write all. But they just couldn't copy the submissions verbatim.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 12 May 1984)

Hearing set for the Hitler Diaries case

The main trial in the Hitler Diaries affair is to take place in Hagen against Gert Heidemann and Karl Kujau.

Documents claiming to be those of Adolf Hitler were published in weekly news magazine, *Stern*, last year. Even some expert opinion was won by the documents, which were established as forgeries.

Kujau, who has admitted forging the papers, is in custody. So is Heidemann, a journalist with the magazine.

The prosecution alleges that Heidemann caused the publishers of *Stern* to pay between January 1981 and the end of April 1983, DM9.34 million for the blushing rights and to have kept DM1.75 million for himself.

It is alleged that in the summer of 1981 at the latest, Heidemann had known that the papers, which he claimed to have been smuggled out of East Germany, were falsified. Yet he had kept silent and this had led to the papers being delivered. This had been to Heidemann's profit.

It is alleged that Kujau had been hanging gardens of Babylon and was one of the wonders of the Ancient World.

The Assyrian queen's son is reputed to have founded Trier 4,000 years ago when he gave it his name.

The Roies Haus on Trier's market square bears the legend: *Ante Romanam seculi annis mille recentis* (Trier was founded 1,300 years before Rome).

(Nordwest Zeitung, 24 May 1984)

Police probe dentists' fraud

A 20 member Hamburg police commission is investigating fraud and tax evasion by dentists in the city.

The main charges are that dentists have been overcharging customers for health insurance companies by not including discounts from dental laboratories and by over-stating the amount of gold used in repairs.

Originally, more than 300 of the city's 1,000-odd dentists were investigated, but that list has been reduced to 100 of the "blackest sheep".

Already two arrests have been made. A husband and wife pair, aged 60 and 55 respectively. They are charged with fraud over a period of 10 years. Estimated amount involved: DM300,000.

Details about patients falling victim to dishonest dentists first emerged in 1982. Central to the story is the competition between dental laboratories.

In 41 AD the Roman writer Pomponius Mela wrote that Trier was an "urbs splendidissima" — so it must have been a city to do town by then. Within half a century, and thus in most cases, the emperor Augustus, *Augusta Treverorum*, to give it its Latin name, had grown into a flourishing community.

In 41 AD the Emperor Claudius elevated it to the status of a *colonia* and, with continued prosperity, the city was long to the patients.

Another result of the investigation is that some dentists have volunteered to come forward and admitted irregularities in order to avoid proceedings in the future.

Thomas Wobbe

(Mannheimer Morgen, 17 May 1984)

HERITAGE

A city looks back on 2,000 years of history — and more of legend

Kieles Nachrichten

Trier on the Moselle has just celebrated its bimillennial. It was founded 2,000 years ago by the Roman Emperor Augustus. Bonn President Karl Carstens attended the anniversary ceremony on the city's market square.

Trier is merely celebrating the 2,000th anniversary of its foundation as a Roman city. If it were a matter of the oldest settlement in Germany, Trier would have held its jamboree decades ago.

At the Augustinerhof, or city hall, officials proudly claim Trier was a Roman city well before the year 16 BC. Several occasions rival claims to be older have had to be disputed.

If they had been a little smarter they might have celebrated the city's 4,000th anniversary, not its 2,000th.

The name Trier is said to be derived from Trebata, son of Semiramis, the hanging gardens of Babylon and one of the wonders of the Ancient World.

The Assyrian queen's son is reputed to have founded Trier 4,000 years ago when he gave it his name.

The Roies Haus on Trier's market square bears the legend: *Ante Romanam seculi annis mille recentis* (Trier was founded 1,300 years before Rome).

But this tale is strictly legend, invented by people who were unable to come up with the city's decline as an Imperial residence and with the withdrawal of the Romans.

Yet like all fairy tales it has an element of truth inasmuch as there were settlements long before the Romans arrived in the Moselle valley.

They can still be shown by archaeologists to have existed. But the earliest date back no further than the 1st century BC when the Trier area in fact was settled by the Romans.

Julius Caesar conquered the area during the Gallic War, but for Trier this was another date of much greater significance, the year the city was founded to 100 of the "blackest sheep".

Years of timber used to build a Roman bridge are claimed to show that the city was founded in about 16 BC, and as such a luxury. Trier must, it is claimed, have been a city by then.

To be on the safe side the city council decided unanimously in 1980 that Trier should be 2,000 years old in 1984.

In 41 AD the Roman writer Pomponius Mela wrote that Trier was an "urbs splendidissima" — so it must have been a city to do town by then. Within half a century, and thus in most cases, the emperor Augustus, *Augusta Treverorum*, to give it its Latin name, had grown into a flourishing community.

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Thomas Wobbe

(Mannheimer Morgen, 17 May 1984)

The Barbara thermal baths and over six kilometres of city ramparts with 47 round towers are unfortunately no longer operational. But the Porta Nigra, the northern city gate, dating back to the last third of the third century AD, is still the hallmark of the city.

It is a massive dry stone wall building made of masonry without mortar that testifies to how important Trier must have been.

Its importance came to an abrupt end in 275 AD when the Alemanni raided the city and almost totally destroyed it.

It might well have been forgotten had not Diocletian, keenly aware that the Roman empire was disintegrating, decided an administrative centre was needed in the region.

In 285 AD he divided the empire into four dioceses. The Western empire, consisting of Gaul, Iberia, the Germanic provinces and Britain, was governed from Trier.

The first emperor to rule from Trier was Maximian Hercules. He was succeeded by Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great.

From the rubble left behind after the city was sacked by the Alemanni the new Imperial city rose like a phoenix from the ashes.

Constantine planned a majestic palace complex extending over much of the area of the present *Altstadt*. But when he left for Constantinople in 337 none of his successors had enough cash to finance it.

The ruins of his baths, the enormous main hall of his palace and walls that still form part of the cathedral convey a mere idea of his ambitious plans.

Constantine introduced Christianity, and even though heathen emperors continued to rule from Trier until 390 AD it must be said from 337 to have entered its Christian era.

The early Christian fathers Augustine, Jerome, Athanasius and Martin of Tours spent time in the city, while Ambrose is said to have been born there.

After the Roman withdrawal and several Germanic raids decline set in, with only the bishops maintaining a modicum of infrastructure.

Nothing was left of the city's erstwhile opulence. Intellectual values pre-

dominated, and many abbeys and monasteries were founded that have kept up Christian traditions to this day. The scriptoria and libraries produced and stocked veritable treasures. After the 843 Treaty of Verdun the city switched territorial allegiance several times. In 882 it was sacked again, this time by the Normans. Its reconstruction marked the beginning of yet another recovery.

The mediaeval city emerged from the ruins. The archbishops of Trier grew steadily more powerful, became electoral princes and later took part in elections for Holy Roman Emperor. The area over which they held sway increased in size and significance, extending by the 14th century from the upper reaches of the Moselle to well over the Rhine.

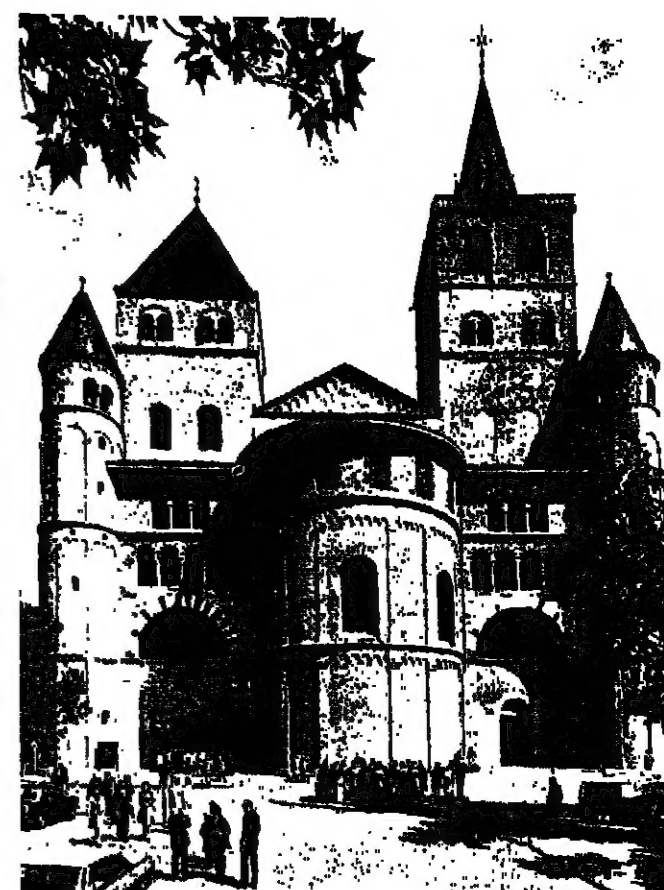
In 1473 the first university was set up in the city and the Imperial diet met under Frederick III. His son Maximilian I held another Imperial diet there in 1519.

Trier was a flourishing city again, and it remained a capital until the Napoleonic wars and the occupation of the Rhineland by the French.

The years that have been passed over were periods of revolutionary change in Trier, as they were everywhere in Central Europe.

There was the Reformation, the Thirty Years' War, the burning of witches at the stake and the various wars of succession, which made their mark on the city without jeopardising its survival.

Drastic changes did not occur until the French occupied Trier in 1794/95. The prince-bishop was stripped of his powers, ecclesiastical institutions were expropriated, and in 1798 the university was shut down.



Trier's cathedral

(Photo: Michael Jelter)

Monastery libraries were dissolved and many irreplaceable manuscripts were lost, although some indirectly found their way back into the municipal library as the groundwork of today's magnificent stock.

In 1815 Prussia took over what was left of the prince-bishopric on the left bank of the Rhine. Trier was a provincial capital, but it was a border province and no longer a centre unto itself.

The city has never recovered the political and economic power it once enjoyed. Living standards of much of the population were affected. Many were impoverished.

At this nadir in the city's history its arguably most famous son, Karl Marx, was born.

His life and work bore the hallmark of the oppressed and oppressive conditions. He was aware of the penury of many and of the conspicuous consumption of a certain class of businessmen.

Most people in Trier today may not be proud that Karl Marx was a son of the city, but they would not for a moment disown him.

Trier was unaffected by 19th century industrialisation. Wine-growing and commerce were the main economic activities, followed by tourism and, after the Second World War, industrial growth.

The Second World War, in which entire sections of the city were reduced to rubble, gave Trier a fillip like other sackings in the course of its 2,000-year history.

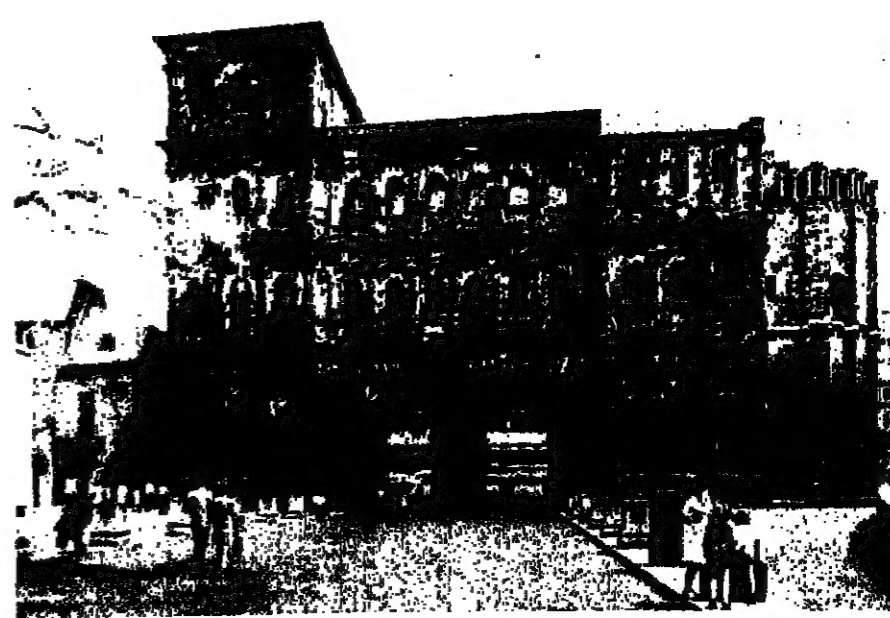
Over the past few decades what used to be a placid, easy-going city has become a shopping and economic centre for a large catchment area.

Trier can no longer be dismissed as a provincial town or as "the largest village in the Eifel hills." It may be a provincial town but it no longer has a provincial outlook.

In the arts Trier can stand comparison with much larger cities, and as a newcomer who was initially sceptical I feel bound to say that although Trier may be a very old city it seems to grow younger by the day.

Andreas Heib

(Kieles Nachrichten, 26 May 1984)



The Porta Nigra, the northern city gate, dates back to the end of the 3rd century AD.

(Photo: Verkehrsamt Trier)